

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 02811 050701Z

16

ACTION EUR-25

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TAGS: PFOR, HU, UR

SUBJ: HUNGARIAN VIEW OF KADAR VISIT TO USSR

REF: MOSCOW 14840

1. SUMMARY: EFFUSIVENESS OF LOCAL MEDIA REACTION TO KADAR
TRIP TO USSR BELIED EFFORTS OF GOH OFFICIALS TO PORTRAY
VISIT AS ROUTINE. CONTINUAL EMPHASIS GIVEN TO FULL
"IDENTITY" OF VIEWS ON ALL QUESTIONS DISCUSSED AND NEED
TO FAITHFULLY FOLLOW LEAD OF SOVIETS. HUNGARIANS UNDOUBTEDLY
GREATLY REASSURED BY RENEWED STAMP OF APPROVAL GIVEN KADAR
BY BREZHNEV AND SUSLOV. THIS WILL STRENGTHEN HAND OF
KADAR NOW AND UNDOUBTEDLY SIGNALS KADAR'S CONTINUATION
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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 02811 050701Z

AFTER NEXT PARTY CONGRESS AS WELL. JOINT COMMUNIQUE'S

SECTIONS ON CLOSER ECONOMIC PLANNING INDICATES INTENTION TO INTEGRATE HUNGARIAN ECONOMY EVEN MORE CLOSELY WITH USSR'S. HUNGARY PRESUMABLY WILL GET ASSURED ENERGY AND RESOURCE SUPPLIES AT REASONABLE PRICES IN RETURN, THOUGH THIS NOT SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO IN SPEECHES OR COMMUNIQUE. EMPHASIS ON BILATERAL IDEOLOGICAL COOPERATION MAY ALSO BRING ABOUT MORE SOVIET INFLUENCE IN HUNGARIAN CULTURAL AND INFORMATIONAL AFFAIRS, THOUGH WE WILL HAVE TO SEE HOW THAT WORKS OUT IN PRACTICE. WE THOUGHT IT INTERESTING THAT KADAR PICKED UP AND REPEATED BREZHNEV'S POSITIVE REMARKS ON DESIRABILITY GREATER SOV-AMERICAN COOPERATION. WE BELIEVE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS GEARED TO HUNGARY'S NEXT FIVE YEAR PLAN TO HAVE BEEN HIGH ON AGENDA, AND BOTH SIDES PROBABLY JOCKEYING OVER PRICES AND SUPPLIES OF RAW MATERIALS. PERHAPS NEEDS OF HUNGARIAN ECONOMY FOR SUCH SUPPORT EXPLAINS UNUSUALLY FULSOME HUNGARIAN REASSURANCE TO SOVS OF THEIR FIRM COMMITMENT TO COMMUNISM AND OF THEIR 100 PERCENT LOYALTY TO USSR IN PARTICULAR. KADAR MAY ALSO HAVE WANTED TO USE TRIP TO SCOTCH RUMORS OF HIS IMPENDING DEPARTURE OR WEAKENING OF INFLUENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. KADAR AND COMPANY LEFT FOR MOSCOW AMID BLAZE OF PUBLIC ADULATION FOR SOV UNION AND ITS LEADERSHIP. EFFUSIVENESS WAS UNUSUALLY STRONG AND EMBARRASSING TO MANY HUNGARIANS. HSWP LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, APPARENTLY FELT NEED TO REDOUBLE THEIR REASSURANCE TO SOVS OF THEIR FEALTY TO MARXISM-LENINISM AND TO SOV LEADERSHIP. SOVS NO DOUBT ASSESS NON-COMMUNIST SYMPATHIES OF MOST OF HUNGARIAN POPULATION IN SAME WAY WE DO, AND TO SOV EYES HUNGARY MUST HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY NON-COMMUNIST APPEARANCE, HENCE NEED FOR CONSTANT REITERATION OF FEALTY TO PRESERVE INTERNAL AUTONOMY AND OBTAIN FUTURE ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS.

3. FROM VIEWPOINT OF AVERAGE HUNGARIAN, MOST SIGNIFICANT RESULT OF TRIP WAS NO DOUBT PERSONAL SEAL OF APPROVAL BESTOWED ON KADAR BY SOV LEADERSHIP. RUMORS THAT KADAR MIGHT BE KICKED UPSTAIRS OR SIMPLY REMOVED HAVE CONTINUED TO CIRCULATE HERE, THOUGH ALMOST ALL THE PEOPLE WE HAVE CONTACT WITH HAVE EXPECTED HIM TO REMAIN. PRAISE CONTAINED IN BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AND IN JOINT COMMUNIQUE IS PROBABLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BUDAPE 02811 050701Z

GREATLY REASSURING TO MOST HUNGARIANS. FULSOMENESS OF VISIT ALSO STRENGTHENS KADAR'S HAND IN THIS CRITICAL PERIOD PRECEDING MARCH 1975 PARTY CONGRESS AND MAY REDUCE CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL INTENT OF PERSONNEL CHANGES WE EXPECT TO TAKE PLACE AT NEXT PARTY CONGRESS.

4. COMMUNIQUE IMPLIES IN REFERENCE TO "FURTHER COORDINATION" THAT COORDINATION OF FIVE YEAR PLANS HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED.

THIS MAY MEAN THAT TWO PARTIES HAVE NOT RESOLVED ALL KEY QUESTIONS ON PRICES/QUANTITIES OF SOVIET RAW MATERIALS OR EVEN MORE LIKELY ABOUT HUNGARIAN INVESTMENT IN SOVIET RAW MATERIAL EXPLOITATION EFFORTS. ONE HUNGARIAN SOURCE ALSO CLAIMS THAT SOVS UNHAPPY OVER GOH DESIRES TO TRADE WITH WEST AT EXPENSE OF TRADE WITH CEMA PARTNERS. HE ALSO CLAIMED DELEGATION TO USSR WAS PRESSURED TO SPEED UP INVESTMENT IN EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES IN USSR AND DEVOTE MORE ATTENTION TO LARGE INVESTMENTS NEEDED FOR SOV AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION.

5. REFERENCES TO "JOINT PLANNING" OF KEY BRANCHES AND USE OF "NEW FORMS OF INTEGRATION" ARE LARGELY STANDARD FORMULATIONS (SIMILAR TO 1972 COMMUNIQUE), BUT DID TAKE MATTERS A STEP FURTHER BY CALLING FOR GREATER USE OF THESE FORMS. ASSERTION THAT DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF CEMA INTEGRATION COULD BE READ AS REMINDER OF SOVIET EMPHASIS ON BILATERAL MODE. WE ARE STRUCK BY FACT ECONOMIC SECTION IS SO HIGHLY BILATERAL IN TONE.

6. STRONGER EMPHASIS WAS ALSO PAID TO JOINT IDEOLOGICAL WORK THAN IN 1972 COMMUNIQUE. IT CALLS FOR "IMPROVEMENT OF CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN SCIENTIFIC AND ARTISTIC ORGANIZATIONS", FOR "JOINT ACTIVITY" IN STEPPING UP "STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY" AND FOR "JOINT ACTIVITY IN ELABORATING QUESTIONS OF MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY", AND NOTES THAT RELATIONS IN FIELDS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK, EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE HAD ALREADY "CONSIDERABLY EXPANDED". THIS CREATES BASIS FOR GREATER SOV INFLUENCE IN THESE AREAS AND COULD LEAD TO ADDED PRESSURE ON HSWP TO TIGHTEN UP THINGS IN INFORMATIONAL AND CULTURAL LIFE. THERE WAS, OF COURSE, IMPLICATION THAT THIS WOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 BUDAPE 02811 050701Z

HAPPEN WHEN CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECISIONS WERE MADE IN MARCH, BUT CHANGES HAVE BEEN MORE APPARENT THAN REAL UP TO NOW. WE WILL HAVE TO WATCH THIS AREA TO SEE WHETHER THIS REMAINS ESSENTAILLY RHETORIC OR IS PUT INTO PRACTICE.

7. KADAR'S REFERENCES TO IMPORTANCE OF GOOD SOV-AMERICAN RELATIONS FOR DETENTE UNDOUBTEDLY WERE PICKED UP FROM BREZHNEV'S INSERTED REMARKS ON SUBJECT IN FIRST TOAST. IN ANY CASE, WHILE HUNGARIANS HAVE THEIR OWN REASONS FOR FAVORING BETTER US-SOVIET RELATIONS, IT WAS MORE POSITIVE THAN USUAL AND HELPFUL IN US-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS FOR HAVING BEEN SAID IN USSR.

8. SECTION OF COMMUNIQUE DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES CONTAINED NO SURPRISES. WE ALSO NOTICED, HOWEVER, THAT

KADAR'S PUBLIC REFERENCES TO HOLDING EUROPEAN AND WORLD CP CONFERENCE STRONGER THAN THAT CONTAINED IN COMMUNIQUE. HE IS REPORTED TO HAVE USED WORD "GRADUAL" IN REFERENCE TO PREPARATIONS FOR WORLD CP CONFERENCE, BUT WE BELIEVE "STEP-BY-STEP" IS THE MORE ACCURATE TONE OF WHAT HE SAID. APPROVAL OF CURRENT MBFR TALKS WAS CONCLUDED BY A SUGGESTION OF POSSIBILITY OF SIMILAR CONFERENCES AT LATER STAGE FOR "OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE". ALSO NOTABLE WAS EXTENSIVE REFERENCE TO ASIAN SECURITY SYSTEM.

9. KADAR HAS HELD THINGS TOGETHER HERE FOR ALMOST 18 YEARS. HE IS MASTER POLITICIAN WHO HAS SURVIVED BY MAINTAINING CONFIDENCE OF SOVIET LEADERSHIP. UNUSUALLY LAVISH PRAISE FOR SOVIETS MAY ONLY REFLECT PERIODIC NEED TO REASSURE MOSCOW. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE IT MORE LIKELY TO HAVE MORE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES -- TO FORESTALL PRESSURES AGAINST HSWP REFORM POLICIES OR TO OBTAIN SOV COMMITMENTS FOR NEXT FIVE YEAR PLAN, OR BOTH. WHETHER IN FACT THIS SORT OF APPROACH MATERIALLY INCREASES SOV LEVERS OF INFLUENCE HERE OR PRESERVES BASIC AUTONOMY UNDER CLOUDS OF RHETORIC WILL HAVE TO BE JUDGED AS ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL POLICY CONTINUES TO UNFOLD. OUR GUESS IS THAT NOT MUCH WILL CHANGE. IN ANY CASE, MAJOR DECISIONS WILL NOT EMERGE BEFORE NOVEMBER CC SESSION AND PROBABLY NOT UNTIL MARCH PARTY CONGRESS.

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